1: Karsten--186-187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 595 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are polygamous. The first wives are however in many cases sisters, since a Jibaro readily gives his other daughters to a son-in-law whom he likes. Still it is of comparatively rare occurrence that a Jibaro man has more than two or three wives. Only old chiefs who have taken part in many wars in which they have captured young girls and brought them home may have four or even more wives. It may therefore happen that such old chiefs have wives who are several tens of years younger than themselves. As to the reasons for keeping many wives, I once received the following answer from a Jibaro when I asked him about the matter: 'I have a big house and I want many wives to keep it. One of my wives has to go out to the fields where she works nearly the whole day. In the meantime I want another to take care of the house, of the children, and of the domestic animals, and to serve manioc-beer to guests who arrive. Sometimes someone of my wives is ill or with child and then I want another to perform her work. It is otherwise with us than with white people.' This answer gives us to understand that it is in part purely practical considerations which lead an Indian to keep many wives; they in a way replace female servants which these Indians do not keep. But it cannot be denied that another motive for polygyny is also at work among these Indians, namely, the man's taste for variety. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians--who are however in the main monogamous --more than one man explained to me that he desired a fresh wife simply because the first one had

grown old and he was tired of her. Further, the Jibaro Indian generally wants a large progeny, and when he marries many and young women he has of course hopes of getting many children.

As to the women who are wives of the same man, I never noticed any jealousy or hostility between them; they seem to regard it as a [187] perfectly natural thing that a man shall have various wives, each of whom performs her share of the common work. A Jibaro woman calls each of her co-wives by the name kai, which seems to denote a particular kind of relationship."

1: Karsten--211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
595 (1928-29)

"...the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

l: Karsten--222-223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 837, 595 (1928-29)

"If the Jibaro man treats his wife well and does not neglect his duties towards her, she is as a rule faithful and a model housewife. It is otherwise when she finds herself neglected by her husband, as not seldom happens. The Jibaros not only live in polygyny, but it may happen that an elderly man, especially an old chief, procures several young wives, even quite young girls captured from enemy tribes, towards whom he cannot duly perform his marital duties. It is no uncommon thing that such young, neglected wives engage in sexual relations with other men, [223] in spite of the risk that they incur thereby. Intelligent as the Jibaro woman is, she may display extraordinary acuteness in deceiving her husband."

2: Stirling--108-109 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 595

"Because of the prevalence of the custom of head hunting, the women outnumber the men considerably, as marriageable women are rarely killed in the head-hunting raids. As a result, polygamy is an inevitable consequence. José Grande, an old chief on the upper Upano River, has 11 wives and 5 or 6 wives not uncommon for an influential man.

It is not to be supposed that the lot of women is an unhappy one because of these facts. Most women appear to have a real affection for their husbands and the young girl wives appear to be as much attached as a rule to their husbands as to their own parents. [109] Jealousy between wives is apparently a very rare trait. Almost always a household of women get along very well together and the various wives of a man become very fond of one another. A typical marital group in the case of older men consists of three wives--- one, an older woman of approximately the husband's age; another, a young wife of 16 to 20 years of age; and the third, an immature girl."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

4: Up de Graff--282 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 727, 595

"I will add a few remarks concerning the ultimate fate of the trophies whose early history I have told.

The Jívaros never take adult male prisoners, but the women and children who are caught in the periodical raids are given the same standing in the victorious tribe as those who are born into it. Polygamy is forced on the Jívaro peoples by the constant drain on the male population caused by the incessant inter-tribal warfare. But for polygamy they would soon become extinct."

10: Anthony--147 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 595

"The Jivaro looks down upon the white man, who has only one wife, because among the Indians the measure of a man's valor is the number of his wives. Polygamy is regularly practised and a man may have four or five wives or even as many as eight. This custom is the cause of the greater part of the fighting and killing that takes place in the Jivaro territory."

12: Rivet--604-605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 595, 721

The Indians can marry as many women as they want to, but practice, although some do possess as many as eight (certain chiefs particularly), most of them are content with two or three, generally one old one, the wife by the first marriage, and one or two younger ones, not so much because of the [605] difficulty of providing for the needs of many companions, but because of their rarity. In fact we shall see later that many wars have no other end than to procure women.

20: Dyott--158 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 595

"Kuashu had surrounded himself with a trio of wives, Nambira, Nakaimbi and Inza. The last mentioned was a young girl of pleasing appearance, and evidently a recent acquisition to his household, for she was well decorated with beads and feathers. She had no children, but the future promised well. The four children of the house belonged to the two older women. Three of these children were boys, already referred to as Mihanda, We-suma and Himbikti, and the fourth, a young girl, and quite a jolly little thing, was called Chingasso. There was yet another woman--an old creature that nobody seemed to pay much heed to. She was the one surviving widow of Kuashu's brother who had been killed. According to Jivaro custom, the wives of a dead man are taken over by his nearest male relation. Sometimes this may be equivalent to quite a big fortune, but in this case, Kuashu had only acquired a useless package of worn-out human machinery."

20: Dyott--173-174
116, 202, 595, 574

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"The house from which the sounds [KS: drum message] emanated belonged to a man, Kun-gupi by name, who was one of Kuashu's fathers-in-law. Seven months previously each of these men had felt the need of adding a new wife to his establishment--a little young blood to make up for the grey hairs of the older women, so they had solved the problem by swapping daughters and it was in this manner that the young and handsome Inza had become Kuashu's bride. [174]

As we drew near the edge of Kun-gupi's clearing, we announced our arrival in true Indian style by shouting lustily. Our call was promptly taken up, and several young braves came running down the path to greet us. Each carried his spear, more out of habit than anything else, though experience has taught them that such habits are worth cultivating. We were piloted through a dense banana patch, over countless obstructions, to a rather small house, planted on the hillside. One by one we squeezed in through the narrow door-way and there, in its cool interior, found ourselves as if in a bee-hive. It was simply swarming with brown figures and a constant buzz of conversation came from all quarters. We were offered stools to sit upon, and the usual niji-manchi was forthcoming; but when a large pin-inga (bowl) of the white liquid was passed over in our direction, both Johnson and myself waved it aside, as the method of preparing it was yet too fresh in our memory."

25: Vigna--44 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 595

Generally, the Jíbaro does not content himself with one woman. The monogamous are rare. His next wives will be the sisters or cousins of the woman. Many times men have three, four and even five wives. Each one of them cares for her own garden, birds, hogs, bowls, hearth, bed, and children. The latter many times merit less attention than the pack of dogs which serve for hunting and are tied to the bed. It does not matter that the dogs make an infernal noise with their barking when anyone enters; the dog is indispensable to the Jíbaros.

26: Brüning--70 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 595

The Aguaruna Indians have the system of polygamy. I have heard of chieftains that had up to ten wives. Their number seems to depend on the man's ability to support them. One of the Indians in our crew was very nearsighted: we were told he had only one wife since he could not do much hunting on account of his bad eyes.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595.

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

29: Vité--15-16 (1934) 1935
116, 595, 462

The majority [KS: of the Jíbaros] are polygamous, probabl
constituted as to make it unnecessary for the man, who is the
work. The women themselves endeavor to be many in a fami
work which covers everything from the cultivation of a small
in the hunt, in which they play the role of dogs, discovering a
frightening it with cries and noises up the spot occupied by th
forest. The latter then strikes it with an easy blow of his lar
himself whatsoever to pick it up, because it must be carried
They are very jealous [16] and very devoted to their children.
with our caresses and kiss.

/332 cont./

301 preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in
[824] part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of
[237] shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of
European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this orna-
mentation completely.

142 Assured and proud, the Jívaro moves in the consciousness
157 of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the
[834] men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small
and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their
earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the
more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies,
142 disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-
[144] tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the
Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to
mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the
Spanish cities, /333/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians
[157] may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression
is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always
● 595 treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotia-
593 tions, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I
say wives, for seldom does a Jívaro content himself with one
partner for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot under-
stand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of
his wives and children, whereas the moralistic Christian preachers
595 all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women
with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes
the lord and master has several houses far from one another and
[581] has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage
[648] is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right
to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how
reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified
181 under the conditions that we find among the Jívaros. In the case
595 of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes resi-
628 dence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the
648 individual families, live in war and conflict, the man must
always be ready to defend his person and his property; he must

practice the use of weapons, live for
battle and the hunt.

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

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726

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Sung by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

• 595 351 The center of Jívaro life is the individual house, normally occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 2).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kampanakă* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller [712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 41/ /text continues on p. 43/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place
B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall
C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs
D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed
E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaŋä*), placed for use by a male visitor
F Doorway at men's end of the house
F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches
G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors
H House owner's round stool (*čimpuí*)
I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels
J Younger wife's bed
K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles
L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer
M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
361 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
[768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

• 595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*taŋamašä*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_2). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

season,[1] and a diversified crop inventory all contribute to making a continual supply of agricultural products possible throughout the year.

Crops grown for their tubers or corms include, besides sweet manioc, two varieties of sweet potato, *papa china* (from Spanish) [taro?], and three other members of the Araceae family (*sanu*, *tuka*, *wančup*), the carrot-like *maya* (arracacha?), and peanuts. Of these, manioc is grown in by far the largest quantity, and is the chief source of starch. The most important non-tuberous food plants are plantains and "white" maize. Other crops grown in relatively small quantities are squash, red peppers, tomatoes, onions, the "gold" banana (*guineo de oro* in Spanish), pineapple, papaya, sugar cane, tobacco, achiote, gourds, cotton. *Tsapay* (for heavy cordage), various fish poisons, medicinal plants, and hallucinogenic drugs, especially *Banisteriopsis* species and *Datura arborea*, are both cultivated in the garden and collected wild in the forest.

Gardens are abandoned after three plantings of manioc, in other words, after about three to five years, because of the growing amount of labor required to clear the ever increasing numbers of weeds. New garden clearings are made nearby in virgin timber except when the actual household is being moved, in which case the gardens are planted at the new house location. This practice of shifting gardens, the so-called "slash-and-burn" or swidden technique, is made possible by the plentiful supply of land. The Jívaro recognize this method, despite the necessity of making new clearings, as involving less effort than attempting to cope with the weeds at the old site.

If a man clears the forest without the aid of neighbors, he tends to make small clearings at different times, while the rarer communal effort results in one large clearing. Whether

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approximately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the increments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives) and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jívaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *niawá šuarā* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jívaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kayaim šuarā* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri šuarā* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jívaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jívaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jívaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 • 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuŋuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

on the hunt is, however, viewed as dangerous by the man, it being believed that after intercourse he is particularly susceptible to being bitten by a poisonous snake. Nevertheless, men often engage in sexual activity when they take their wives hunting.

Men also claim that they would rather go hunting than to engage in sexual relations with the possible consequence of pregnancy, since babies interfere with the mobility of their wives to accompany them in hunting. Therefore, men usually state that they are reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse more often than about once every six to eight days. Field observations, of course, were difficult to make on this point, but my impression is that these particular statements were not too inconsistent with their behavior. Men also believe that having more than one wife decreases, rather than increases, the likelihood of reproduction. The reasoning is that a second wife permits a man to spend more time hunting and thus reduces the frequency of his acts of sexual intercourse. The arduous, mountainous travel required in hunting may also, in itself, divert potential sexual energies.

While many young wives seem to prefer the childless situation which makes it easy for them to go hunting with their husbands, an attempt at contraception is usually only made by single lovers. The attempt essentially employs sympathetic magic rather than herbs and only is believed to work if the male partner is a shaman. The girl brings him a raw chicken egg, he blows on it, and she swallows the egg while he holds her head underwater in a stream. This act is specific only to the young man, and is believed to prevent the girl forever from being impregnated by him. No vegetal abortives of any kind are known.

Women often do want children and, if no conception takes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *mua tsayu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*ičï*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice [591] temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (*wabe*) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jivaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of